

# PEACE NEWS

FOR NON-VIOLENCE AND UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

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SIXPENCE

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## PARLIAMENT GAGGED OVER POLARIS

'Why' asks Emrys Hughes, MP

A CALL FOR A DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT WITH A FREE VOTE BEFORE FACILITIES ARE GIVEN FOR A POLARIS BASE IN SCOTLAND WAS MADE LAST WEEK BY EMRYS HUGHES, MP.

Opposition MP from the West of Scotland had an opportunity of expressing an opinion or voicing the view of his constituents," Mr. Emrys Hughes wrote:

"If Mr. Gaitskell is anxious that we should keep democracy and our way of life why is he not anxious that the whole issue should be discussed and voted on? It is true that Mr. Gaitskell has committed himself on this issue. It was notable that Gaitskell sat silent and did not challenge Mr. Macmillan's statement. There was no protest from the Opposition Front Bench: not a word.

"Yet at Manchester Mr. Gaitskell is re-

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## How we boarded Polaris submarines

By Bradford Lyttle

SINCE JUNE 1, the Committee for Non-violent Action (CNVA), US equivalent of the British Direct Action Committee, has been waging a non-violent, direct action campaign against Polaris missile launching submarines. Polaris

Action, as the campaign is named, has its headquarters in New London-Groton, Connecticut, home also of the largest US submarine base and Electric Boat Division of General Dynamics Corporation. The first nuclear and missile subs, were designed and built by EB. Nine missile

boats together off the B drydock for a council of non-violence. The tug began to charge our flotilla. Several times it thrashed through our centre throwing up a heavy wake which left the *Ahimsa* and the *World Citizen* bobbing violently.

We moved into a cove behind the dry dock to avoid the tug and to see the submarines. There they were, berthed side by side. The *Patrick Henry*, fresh from the sea, was ringed with green slime. Missile hatches of both ships yawned at the sky.

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# submarines

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Eight times Polaris Actionists have committed civil disobedience in protest against the Polaris submarines.

On Thursday, October 20, three Polaris Actionists finally succeeded in protest boardings of Polaris missile submarines George Washington and Patrick Henry. Here, for readers of Peace News are eyewitness accounts of this extraordinary action briefly reported in our Nov. 14 issue.

ON October 19 Marjorie Swann 'phoned the New York CNVA office from New London. She reported that the George Washington had returned to the Electric Boat docks and that she had scheduled a non-violent protest boarding attempt for the next day.

The Navy and Electric Boat had received notification of our general intentions. We 'phoned Security at the Electric Boat company's docks and said we would be over within two hours. Groton radio station and two press agencies were informed.

The motor-boat *Henry David Thoreau*, rowing boat *World Citizen*, the canoe *Ahimsa* and another small skiff were ready waiting.

It was raining, windy and cold as we pushed our four boats into the Thames estuary. Two thirds of the way across, a large grey Navy tug churned into view, apparently dispatched to help cope with our action. We attempted to collect our

boats together off the B drydock for a council of non-violence. The tug began to charge our flotilla. Several times it thrashed through our centre throwing up a heavy wake which left the *Ahimsa* and the *World Citizen* bobbing violently.

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Richard Zink of the American Committee for Non-violent Action sitting on the tail fin of the first Polaris missile submarine, George Washington. Part of the submarine is submerged, separating him from the sailors and workmen standing with poles on the afterdeck.

HUGHES, MP.

In a letter to the Editor of *The Guardian* last Friday he said that the Prime Minister's announcement of the Polaris decision had resulted in a Parliamentary situation of fundamental importance to those who believed in democracy.

It would be a complete travesty of Parliamentary democracy if the whole issue were sidetracked because a debate might be considered embarrassing for Mr. Gaitskell.

Declaring that the Polaris base had become one of the most important political issues of recent years and that in the House of Commons on November 4 "not one

Opposition MP from the West of Scotland had an opportunity of expressing an opinion or voicing the view of his constituents," Mr. Emrys Hughes wrote:

"If Mr. Gaitskell is anxious that we should keep democracy and our way of life why is he not anxious that the whole issue should be discussed and voted on? It is true that Mr. Gaitskell has committed himself on this issue. It was notable that Gaitskell sat silent and did not challenge Mr. Macmillan's statement. There was no protest from the Opposition Front Bench: not a word.

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**RT. HON. ARTHUR CREECH-JONES.** Colonialism in Collapse. What Now? 7.15 p.m. Tuesday, Nov. 22, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., London, W.C.1. Discussion.

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# Will U.S. foreign policy turn toward realism?

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



THE peoples of Africa and Asia are asking how Senator Kennedy's election as American President will affect world peace and colonial liberation.

On peace there is uncertainty. American foreign policy will probably become more liberal, particularly if the new President selects Mr. Chester Bowles (the best Ambassador India ever had) as Secretary of State. But Senator Kennedy made "greater strength in defence" a prominent feature of his campaign; and this would mean more influence for the nuclear technicians who reject every move towards disarmament. We must hope that the State Department will prove stronger than the Pentagon.

On colonialism Senator Kennedy was outspoken. After the British-French attack on Suez he said:

"Since 1945 we have been tremendously hampered by diplomatic ties with Britain and France, who wish to preserve their colonial ties. We have taken a definite stand against colonialism for the first time since the war."

The new President has also been unpromising in his assertion of Negro rights in America. These attitudes may be important for Algeria, South Africa and Central Africa.

America's anti-colonialism tends to be limited however to the political sphere. I remember Bernard Shaw saying to me years ago that the US was quite prepared for indigenous peoples to control governments so long as American financiers and industrialists control the economy. To that must now be added control of the military forces and bases.

America, in its obsession for military influence, has disastrously backed dictatorial regimes in Turkey, South Korea and Laos against which the peoples, or more democratic elements in the army, have revolted. America's policy in this respect has affected Asia more than Africa, though both the Congo and Algeria threaten the Continent with dangerous Cold War pressures. One hopes that Senator Kennedy's anti-colonialism will take a broader form.

## Africa in UN

territory. The Portuguese State and its possessions deny every principle of the United Nations Charter and its membership of the Security Council would be an outrage.

Nevertheless, it seemed likely that Portugal would be elected, on the second ballot if not on the first. It had the support of America, Western Europe, and, to quote *The Times* (November 12, 1960), "a few others not too deeply committed to the 'anti-colonial' campaign."

It is one of the ironies of the international situation that the democratic West, because Portugal is an ally against Communism, is prepared to sponsor a reactionary regime despite its authoritarianism which is as illiberal as the regime of any Communist country.

This nomination shocked India and the African States. It was, of course, opposed also by Russia and the Communist delegations. *The Times* has suggested that the Communist group used the Afro-Asian group to reduce the United Nations to futility. It is quite untrue however that Russia and its associates were responsible for the action of Nigeria in moving the resolution for the postponement of the election or of the leading part taken by the other African delegations and of India in support.

## Soviet Union's motives

Nigeria has shown independence of judgment and moderation since her delegation was admitted to the United Nations. Her initiative was not influenced from any Communist source.

Africa and Asia voted as they did for these reasons:

1. They dislike Portugal's dictatorship;
2. They repudiate Portugal's colonialism; and
3. They want proper African representation on the Security Council.

Admittedly, Russia has further purposes in mind. She will obstruct any election of

Communist and Afro-Asian secretaries. This attitude is holding up proposals that the size of the Security Council should be increased from 11 to 13 and the membership of the Economic and Social Council extended by six so as to include more adequate representation of the Afro-Asian States.

It is intolerable that Communist China, representing more than one-sixth of the population of the earth, should be excluded from the United Nations.

It is intolerable that the sovereign States of Africa, now representing two-thirds of the population of the Continent, should be so inadequately represented on the Security Council.

## China's admission into UN

It is intolerable that the one-third of the world's population which is uncommitted to either the American or Russian Power blocs, and that one-third which is associated with the Russian bloc, should not have top-level representation in the administration of the United Nations.

Most of us will have no sympathy with Russia's vendetta against Mr. Hammarskjöld. I would like to see him remain Secretary-General. But is there any reason why he should not have three Under-Secretaries representing the Western, Communist and neutral blocs?

As for China, its farcical representation by Formosa in the United Nations should be ended at once. And the new impressive influence of the Afro-Asian nations should be recognised by appropriate membership of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and all the committees and agencies of the United Nations.

We must all agitate in our respective countries and act in our respective Legislatures to secure these changes.

**POSTSCRIPT:** *Congratulations to the Campaign against Racial Discrimination in Sport. Its secretary, Anthony Steel, tells me that the Council of the International Federation of Football Associations has decided that it will not in future recognise national associations which practise the*



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**WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL** welcomes gifts of foreign stamps. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

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**LADY,** English or foreign, wanted to mind children (ages 3, 4) while mother teaches. Board, small wage. Some household duties. Isolated village, but week-ends free. Seed. Farlington, York.

**RHEUMATISM—PREVENTION AND TREATMENT.** Percival Ager. Caxton Hall, Monday, November 21, 7.30 p.m. London Natural Health Society.

#### LITERATURE

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so long as American financiers and industrialists control the economy. To that must now be added control of the military forces and bases.

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### Africa in UN

A debate and vote in the UN General Assembly last week illustrated how the Cold War bedevils both the colonial issue and international co-operation.

The three non-permanent members of the Security Council have in the past been nominated on a regional basis from Europe, Latin America and the Middle East. The theory was that the permanent members covered the rest of the world. This procedure has over-represented Western Europe and has ignored the greater part of Asia and Africa. The Security Council is now totally unrepresentative of the strong presence of African States in the United Nations.

The three non-permanent members of the Security Council last year were Italy, Argentina and Tunisia. Latin America proposed to nominate Chile this year; the Middle East, the United Arab Republic; Western Europe, Portugal. It was this last nomination which sparked the fire of protest in the General Assembly.

### Portugal's obstinacy

Portugal is itself a reactionary dictatorship challenging democratic principles. It is one of the worst colonial Powers, administering Angola and Mozambique with a severity which angers all the independent African States and champions of freedom and racial equality wherever they may be.

The Government declines to make annual reports to the United Nations on social and economic conditions in these colonies (it has every reason to hide its forced labour) on the ground that they are integrated with Portugal. For its refusal to comply with this United Nations obligation the Government has just been condemned by the Trusteeship Council by a vote of 45 to 6.

Portugal is the one Power which insists on retaining a colony—Goa—on Indian

### Soviet Union's motives

Nigeria has shown independence of judgment and moderation since her delegation was admitted to the United Nations. Her initiative was not influenced from any Communist source.

Africa and Asia voted as they did for these reasons:

1. They dislike Portugal's dictatorship;
2. They repudiate Portugal's colonialism; and
3. They want proper African representation on the Security Council.

Admittedly, Russia has further purposes in mind. She will obstruct any election of the Security Council so long as Formosa is accepted as a permanent member representing China. Russia is also ready to thrust any spoke in the wheel of the United Nations administration until Mr. Hammarskjöld's duties are shared by joint Com-



Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

#### Friday, November 18

**LONDON, S.E.1:** 11 p.m. Concert at Festival Hall in support of Defence and Aid Fund of Christian Action. Artists: Norma Procter, Peter Pears, Yehudi Menuhin, Benjamin Britten. Tickets from Christian Action, 2 Amen Crt., E.C.4. CITY 6869.

#### Saturday, November 19

**LONDON, N.W.1:** 2.30 to 8 p.m. Friends House, Euston Rd. Film Viewing Session. Recent films opposing war and supporting "War on Want." 1960 Aldermaston, "Come Back Africa!" showing apartheid in practice. Adm. 2s. 6d., tea tickets 1s. 6d. from Friends Service Committee as above. Enclose s.a.c. please. SoF.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3-5 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Frank Dawtry: "How Education can Prevent Delinquency." PPU Education Comm.

**LONDON, S.W.1:** 9.30 a.m.-1 p.m. No tax for nuclear arms poster parade for all participants in the Tax Refusal Campaign. Assemble Trafalgar Sq. end of Whitehall. CATNA.

**WOLVERHAMPTON:** 3.15-6.45 p.m. College of Technology. Conference on Defence and Disarmament. Philip Noel Baker (Nobel Prize winner). Organisers WEA and UNA. Admission 2s. Refreshments available.

#### Monday, November 21

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 6.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. A Jewish Pacifist in Israel, Myrtle Solomon. Refreshments 6 p.m. Central London PPU.

**BIRMINGHAM:** 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. To select Prisoners for Peace Cards. These will be addressed at a special mtg. on December 5. Birmingham and Cotteridge PPU.

#### Wednesday, November 23

**BORDON, Hants.:** 7.30 p.m. Prince of Wales, Whitehill. Speakers include Frank Hancock. Alton and district CND.

As for China, its racial representation by Formosa in the United Nations should be ended at once. And the new impressive influence of the Afro-Asian nations should be recognised by appropriate membership of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and all the committees and agencies of the United Nations.

We must all agitate in our respective countries and act in our respective Legislatures to secure these changes.

**POSTSCRIPT:** Congratulations to the Campaign against Racial Discrimination in Sport. Its secretary, Anthony Steel, tells me that the Council of the International Federation of Football Associations has decided that it will not in future recognise national associations which practise the colour bar. This would rule out the South African Football Association. Alas, the British representative voted against the decision!

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#### Thursday, November 24

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Meeting Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Group Discussion. E.10 and E.11 PPU.

**LONDON, N.W.3:** 8 p.m. 47 Netherhall Gdns. (Flat 7). Our Responsibility to the Young Wage Earner, Wm. Peace. PPU.

#### Saturday, November 26

**BIRMINGHAM:** 3 p.m. Midland Institute. Peace News Forum, "Peace or Polarisation?" Vera Brittain, J. Allen Skinner, Christopher Farley. Chair: Dr. Peter Gittins.

**HORNCHURCH, Essex:** 2 p.m. First banner parade from Whitehart Hotel. Second parade 3.30 p.m. from Uppminster Stn. to publicise public mtg. at Holy Cross Church Hall, Park Lane, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Canon L. J. Collins, Mrs. D. Collins, D. Martin Dakin, Campbell Matthews on Thur., Dec. 1. Hornchurch and Dist. Way to Peace Gp.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7 p.m. Argyle School, Tonbridge St. Folk Dance, Caller: Ruth Sharp. IVS London Gp.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 2.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. IVS London Gp. stall at the International Fair. All gifts welcome to help raise funds for IVS.

**SHEFFIELD:** 3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Hartshead. Christmas Fayre. PPU.

#### Sunday, November 27

**LONDON, N.1:** 3.30 p.m. Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., King's Cross. Universal Religion-Pacifist Fellowship. Rev. G. P. T. Paget King. The Coming Commonwealth.

## Every week!

#### SATURDAYS

**LONDON, W.11:** Golborne Rd., off Portobello Market, north end. Peace Bookstall in Market. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Helpers for two-hour shifts are needed. Apply to the Secretary, BAY 2086, or Organiser, FLA 7906. Porchester PPU.

#### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. 'Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

#### THURSDAYS

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.



By Sybil Morrison

## REMEMBRANCE DAY GIMMICK

*As I watched the traffic speeding by during the Silence yesterday I wondered if these bad manners were general. The AA confirmed that they are. . . . It is not so long since any motorist who did not halt got black looks.—The Daily Telegraph, Nov. 14, 1960.*

**IT** is forty-two years since Armistice Day, forty-one since that day was chosen for this country to remember those who died in the First World War by a nation-wide two minutes silence. A generation had been slaughtered, and the stilling of traffic, trains and footsteps, the extraordinary hush which made it possible even in the centre of London to hear the cooing of doves; the solemn lull that fell upon cities and villages alike was poignant with memories and grief.

The word "gimmick" was not known then, and even if it had been, those who halted in their stride at the sound of the maroons, cut out their engines, ceased their conversations, would have been extremely indignant to hear it called by that name. In those years close to the tragedy this silence was something tangible; it consoled in sorrow; it expressed pride in victory. For years this pride, this glamorisation of a bitter war of useless attrition which could have ended years before the 1918 armistice, carried the emotions of British people over the difficult fence of those sentimental two minutes.

Nevertheless, it was a gimmick; it was, of course, not just chance that the war ended on the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month, and the fact that men were killed and wounded and permanently maimed up to that last moment of time is not something that was remembered during the Silence.

★

Remembering the dead is something of which most of us, sadly, know too much; those of my generation who died in that first world war would have been elderly men now; they have not been forgotten by those who loved them, but a public remembrance is meaningless when, in spite of the "war to end wars" policies were pursued which inevitably brought about the

## MARCH TO ALDERMASTON



**T**O ensure the showing of anti-war and other documentary films in New York, Lionel Rogosin has acquired the Blecker Street Cinema. Its autumn programme includes "March to Aldermaston" (which opened on October 24), "Grand Illusion," "The Unknown Soldier," and "Children of Hiroshima."

Concluding his review of "March to Aldermaston" in the New York Post on October 24, Archer Winston wrote:

"Whether or not you agree that

nuclear weapons should be thrown aside, this propaganda film has a good spirit and is a revealing view of British plain people, both in the march and on the curbstones watching."

LONDON FOOTNOTE: Lionel Rogosin is to introduce his production "Come Back Africa" at the public film viewing session in London tomorrow (Saturday) at Friends House, Euston. He is at present on a trip round the world producing a new anti-war film.

## Teachers and the effects of mass media

From Shirley Toulson

**T**HE National Union of Teachers recently held a three-day conference on the rôle and effects of mass media of television, radio, film and the press on our society.

Delegates representing both education and these media attended the conference.

The fashionable sociologist, Dr. Mark Abrams, was chosen to address the delegates on "The Effects of the Mass Media"—an odd choice as he seemed to think they were negligible and therefore no one's responsibility. Instead, he asked the conference to concentrate on finding out what emotional needs were satisfied by the content of the media, and above all why some

emotionally disturbed and neurotic children should become addicts of television and comics, and in particular addicts of the violence they could find in them. Not that this violence did any harm, for, he assured us, that the children were much more disturbed by real life anger and violence from familiar adults. Undoubtedly, but what makes the familiar adults violent?

Dr. Abrams did not consider the question, and thought that Mrs. Dora Russell, of Mothers, was raising a red herring when she suggested the main cause for emotional disturbance in young children and for unreasonable anger and violence in adults. Anxiety and the tensions built up by the present balance of terror were the most

PEACE NEWS, November 18, 1960—3

## When did you stop beating your wife?



**U**NDER a law passed during the reign of Charles I, wife-beating was forbidden after nine o'clock at night. The reason was that it disturbed the neighbours' sleep. From this you will correctly infer that in those days wife-beating

was regarded as quite permissible during working hours. The purpose of the time-limit was solely that of noise abatement. For in the seventeenth century a wife was still regarded as a man's chattel, and if you couldn't do what you liked with your own property, what price freedom?

Today wife-beating is out. Legally, wives are no longer chattels. Socially, wife-beating is taboo.

What caused this change of opinion? Of course, I know wife-beating is not so easy as it was, with all these girls learning judo.

But there was another reason. It began as a minority opinion. Doubtless the first man who said you shouldn't even beat your wife in day-time was denounced as a dangerous crank.

He probably aroused the same consternation as did the eccentric young man in the song, who told his father, the cannibal chief, that eating people was wrong. As the idea caught on, its advocates were doubtless accused of violating the sacred rights of property and the liberty of the subject. They'd be "breaking up the home," like the early advocates of women's suffrage.

I mention all this because it will be the same with Disarmament. It's still a minority opinion. Men who wouldn't dream of beating their own wives still go on preparing to liquidate other people's. Nevertheless, the Disarmament idea will spread. Nothing can stop it. As Chesterton said: "To be in the smallest party is to be in the strongest school." But education has to be paid for. Even Tory Governments admit that. And although our school is strong, our financial position is weak.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Contributions since Nov. 4: £27 12s. 8d. Total since Feb. 1: £1,294 19s. 6d.

Still needed: £1,205.

Gratefully acknowledged: Anon 10s.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.



Nevertheless, it was a gimmick; it was, of course, not just chance that the war ended on the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month, and the fact that men were killed and wounded and permanently maimed up to that last moment of time is not something that was remembered during the Silence.

★ Remembering the dead is something of which most of us, sadly, know too much; those of my generation who died in that first world war would have been elderly men now; they have not been forgotten by those who loved them, but a public remembrance is meaningless when, in spite of the "war to end wars" policies were pursued which inevitably brought about another world war, and policies are now being pursued which may destroy, not one generation, but the whole human race.

What can Remembrance Day possibly mean to the youth of to-day? To remember people who, had they lived, would have been grandfathers and great-uncles, when they themselves are threatened with annihilation, is totally unrealistic. What can it possibly mean to those who have seen and known and suffered two world wars, other than a deliberate indulgence in an excess of gross sentimentality?

For those of us who still remember, with grief and dismay, the awful toll of young men's lives, glamorising it with military splendour instead of repenting it on our knees, stands as a disgrace and a shame, not as a matter for pride and glory.

To feel affronted by what is designated as a display of "bad manners" shows little understanding of the fact that time has marched on. It is true that in those early years anyone who had not stopped at the sound of the siren would have received very black looks indeed; the fact that they no longer care is significant of something much deeper than bad manners, or lack of respect.

In fact, disillusionment set in when, after the Second World War, extra names were added to Cenotaphs and Shrines; there was no longer any urge to build war memorials; already cynicism about the possibility of peace had bitten deep into the mind and heart of "the common man." Unknown Warriors' graves could no longer comfort him; two minutes was too long for his bitter disbelief.

When "respect" for the dead shows itself not by hat-doffing and ritual silences, but by building up a peaceful society for the generations to come, then Remembrance Day can discard its military "pomp and circumstance," and grief may be assuaged in faith and hope for the future.

**From Shirley Toulson**  
**THE** National Union of Teachers recently held a three-day conference on the rôle and effects of mass media of television, radio, film and the press on our society.

Delegates representing both education and these media attended the conference. The fashionable sociologist, Dr. Mark Abrams, was chosen to address the delegates on "The Effects of the Mass Media"—an odd choice as he seemed to think they were negligible and therefore no one's responsibility. Instead, he asked the conference to concentrate on finding out what emotional needs were satisfied by the content of the media, and above all why some

emotionally disturbed and neurotic children should become addicts of television and comics, and in particular addicts of the violence they could find in them. Not that this violence did any harm, for, he assured us, that the children were much more disturbed by real life anger and violence from familiar adults. Undoubtedly, but what makes the familiar adults violent?

Dr. Abrams did not consider the question, and thought that Mrs. Dora Russell, of Mothers, was raising a red herring when she suggested the main cause for emotional disturbance in young children and for unreasonable anger and violence in adults. anxiety and the tensions built up by the present balance of terror were the most

minority opinion. Men who wouldn't dream of beating their own wives still go on preparing to liquidate other people's. Nevertheless, the Disarmament idea will spread. Nothing can stop it. As Chester-ton said: "To be in the smallest party is to be in the strongest school." But education has to be paid for. Even Tory Governments admit that. And although our school is strong, our financial position is weak.

**B. J. BOOTHROYD.**  
Contributions since Nov. 4: £27 12s. 8d.  
Total since Feb. 1: £1,294 19s. 6d.

**Still needed: £1,205.**  
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## Nuclear weapons policy: opinion survey in Cambridge

A PUBLIC opinion survey based on every 200th voter was recently undertaken by the Cambridge Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Of the 300 persons listed interviewers were able to get in touch with 206, and 160 of these (78 per cent) were willing and able to answer the questions.

Interviewers were all supporters of the Cambridge but they were instructed to express no opinion on the questions until the forms were completed.

The questions, with answers given as percentages to the nearest whole number, were as follows:

**Q. 1:** If nuclear war broke out between East and West, which side do you think would win: East, West, or neither of them?  
(a) East—7, (b) West—17, (c) neither—55, don't know—21.

**Q. 2 (i):** Would you approve or disapprove if Britain supported a proposal for international agreement to ban all nuclear tests without time limit?  
(a) Approve—68, (b) disapprove—21, don't know—11.

**Q. 2 (ii):** In the absence of such an international agreement, would you approve or disapprove of a declaration by Britain that she would never again test nuclear weapons?  
(a) Approve—29, (b) disapprove—55, don't know—16.

**Q. 3:** Do you approve or disapprove of British bases being used for aircraft carrying H-bombs on continuous patrol?  
(a) Approve—41, (b) disapprove—50, don't know—9.

**Q. 4:** Do you think that the bases in Britain for aircraft or missiles carrying nuclear weapons ought to be closed or kept?

(a) Closed—28, (b) kept—66, don't know—6.

**Q. 5:** Which of these policies do you think Britain should follow about nuclear weapons?

(a) We should continue to have our own nuclear weapons;

(b) All Western nuclear weapons should be under NATO control;

(c) We should abandon all reliance on nuclear weapons.

(a) 25, (b) 47, (c) 22, don't know—6.

**Q. 6:** Would you approve or disapprove of a British initiative to ensure that no German soldier in either part of Germany should be equipped with or trained in the use of nuclear weapons?

(a) Approve—59, (b) disapprove—26, don't know—14.

The five questions numbered 2 (i), 2 (ii), 3, 4 and 5 can be answered, mathematically speaking, in 48 different ways if decided answers are given to each question but only 14 of these possible arrangements appear to be free of illogicalities. Eighty-two per cent of the completed forms could either be placed in one of these 14 groups, or contained answers and don't knows that were consistent with one another.

The two outstanding groups of identical replies to the five central questions (each comprising 14 per cent of the total) gave answers *aabac* and *ababb*. The *bbaba* group, at the opposite extreme of opinion

to the *aabac* unilateralists, formed 24 per cent of all replies, while the *bbaba* and *bbabb* combinations together scored 9 per cent.

The completed questionnaire included a statement by the person interviewed of his or her age group. Of those in the youngest group (21-34), 39 per cent want nuclear bases in Britain closed, compared with 28 per cent of the total sample.

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# What went wrong at Ebbw Vale?

AT first sight the by-election to choose Aneurin Bevan's successor looked one of the most promising since 1945. In fact, it turned out that way too.

There was no general election to dictate the issues. There was a constituency with a radical tradition. There were three unilateralist candidates from established Parties and each made nuclear weapons an important feature of his campaign.

The Tory choice, Sir Brandon Rhys Williams (Eton and the Welsh Guards) soon saw his chance and started wagging the flag. Vast posters urged the electorate to "Unite the Nation for Defence." He will still be talking about Britain "retaining a voice" when the Bomb drops.

The unilateralists had forced him to try, to display the logic of the Government's present policy. Michael Foot's election address, for example, was typical of him—full of passionate prose reflecting journalistic ability and years of experience in crusading for socialism.

In the face of this Labour onslaught it was difficult for the Welsh Nationalist and

Liberal candidates to find a place for their unilateralism. Either it was supremely important or it wasn't. If it wasn't, why all the fuss about the Bomb? If it was, they were splitting the unilateralist vote.

Confronted with this dilemma, Emrys Roberts, the Plaid Cymru candidate, did his best. In a most intelligent campaign he argued not only for unilateralism but for Welsh self-government and "the enrichment of our social life." His plea for the devolution of authority and the rejection of the bureaucratic state was a noble attempt to bring human considerations into politics.

## Senseless strategy

The Liberals' man was less astute. Lieut.-Colonel Patrick Lort-Phillips (Eton, Sandhurst and the Grenadier Guards) has written valuable analyses of present "defence" policy, but his political strategy was not so sound. It was rather senseless of the Liberals to urge that Labour was split down the middle on a matter of principle when their own man was a unilateralist in defiance of his Party. Ironically the Liberal had a large

## NEW POLITICS

by Christopher Farley

poster which proclaimed: "Grimond speaks for you." But his leader wouldn't even speak for him.

The result of all this campaigning is that they have been talking about the Bomb in the valleys—not only at the candidates' meetings but in the streets and outside the steel works. In the circumstances it is doubtful if there could have been a much better by-election.

But it is the circumstances that need attention. Consider the situation at Ebbw Vale. Nye Bevan dies. Some time later a new election date is announced. Later still the Parties pick their candidates—perhaps as late as four or five weeks before The Day.

With three or four weeks to go the candidates move into the constituency, probably for the first time. At the end of a short and hectic month they move out again, one of them to Westminster and the others to pastures new. Meanwhile at Ebbw Vale it's back to normal—the steelworks and, perhaps, the telly.

Now the cliché which really stops the show at a Labour Party conference is talk of "changing the face of the nation." Beside it "untold millions," "future generations" and "the brotherhood of man" seem fifth-rate claptrap. It's a sure-fire winner. The tragedy of contemporary politics is that this is precisely what cannot be achieved.

In the Welsh valleys you can still find parents who are proud—stubbornly proud—that their sons should go straight from school to spend their lives down the mines like their fathers and grandfathers.

There is miserable hardship too. If old Macgrouse cared to come down off the Moors to Ebbw Vale he would see a prefab estate outside Tredegar on which it is a disgrace to be sentenced to live, and where washing lines reveal clothes unfit to wear and sheets years past repair.

tained effort, long-term educational projects, active political and social work.

What form a new politics would take I don't know, but we have seen indications of what would get results. There is the clamour and insistence of the popular political movement such as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. There are trained and skilled social workers. There is the voluntary labour of the work camps movement. There is the example in Ghana of the Builders' Brigade building up the new nation.

Above all, perhaps, are the experiments in man's labour which change it from boredom and degradation to creativity and pleasure. Until there is a much wider extension of workers' control of industry it is unrealistic to suppose that leisure time will ever be widely used for the acceptance of responsibility.

These are all indications of the sorts of programmes which could generate enthusiasm for long-term commitment. They could also create a new awareness of true community life, encouraging people to play their full part in the making of decisions which shape their lives.

## Slime and carnage

But a discussion of new politics can only start with the Bomb. Anyone who saw last Friday's BBC TV programme on "War and the Cinema" must have been impressed by the sheer speed with which this disaster has overtaken us. Once the era of world wars had started we moved with terrifying suddenness in just 30 years from the slime and carnage of the trenches of Northern France to Hiroshima, and the end in sight.

This fact gives radical politics a more desperate sense of urgency than it has ever had. It is in combining this sense of the imperative with a quality of change that is truly educational that the forging of a new politics starts.

## THIS IS YOUR WORLD

### Pan-Africanists in jail

THE Pan-Africanists jailed earlier in the year for pass law offences had their appeal against the severity of the sentences dismissed on November 8 by the South African Supreme Court.

### H-bombs in stock

tion into Australia should be confined to White people.

"If you bring in Coloured people," he explained, "you are bound to bring in non-professional people. It would be very wrong if you did. Doctors, lawyers and engineers are needed in their own countries. The chaps who would come in would



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THE Neutron bomb, the US death-ray weapon, is already being stockpiled in Britain, according to a *Daily Express* report on November 7. It is for use by US tactical fighter-bombers.

The N-bomb is a battlefield weapon "designed to kill troops sheltering in slit trenches." It releases an intense shower of lethal atomic particles which can penetrate five feet of concrete.

The N-weapons currently in production can kill troops in deep slit trenches within a radius of 600 yards. They are being made as warheads for Davy Crockett, the short-range US infantry mortar, and for army rockets.

### Getting Kennedy into step

SENATOR KENNEDY'S win in the US Presidential election prompted the following comments from *The Times'* Paris correspondent:

"Many French newspapers and political leaders . . . expect a tougher attitude towards the Soviet Union all over the world. . . .

"At the back of all French minds, however, is the problem of Algeria, and here Mr. Kennedy's commitments have already worried the French. They are anxious to point out to him that if one fights Communism in Cuba, one must also fight it in Algeria, and they console themselves with the thought that he will gradually gain experience in 'international realities.'"

### Whites only in Australia

FIELD MARSHAL LORD SLIM, former Governor-General of Australia, said in London on November 9 that he was strongly of the opinion that immigra-

tion into Australia should be confined to White people.

"If you bring in Coloured people," he explained, "you are bound to bring in non-professional people. It would be very wrong if you did. Doctors, lawyers and engineers are needed in their own countries. The chaps who would come in would be the labourers. They would depress the general standard of living, which would be a pity."

Lord Slim added that Australia was a bastion of Western civilisation in the Southern hemisphere and "if you dilute the population too much she can no longer be that."

## Corporal punishment

IN 1937 the British Home Secretary appointed a committee to examine the effectiveness of corporal punishment; it was generally agreed that this was to silence those who were demanding the removal of that punishment from our laws.

The Committee under Sir Edward Cadogan studied the matter for nine months, and to their own surprise came to the unanimous conclusion that corporal punishment had no exceptional deterrent effect, and in the absence of this, they saw no other reason for retaining it. Despite this, corporal punishment was used to a rather greater extent in the years 1940-43; but the recommendation to abolish it was included in Sir Samuel Hoare's Criminal Justice Bill which was passed in 1948.

Corporal punishment had, in fact, been used only as a penalty for the crime of robbery with violence, and strangely enough, despite a general increase in crime, there was not until the last two years a comparable increase in robbery with violence.

The increase in other crimes of violence, however, particularly amongst younger

offenders, led to a renewed demand for the return to corporal punishment. The Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders (a standing body) was asked by the Home Secretary to examine the subject again in the light of recent developments. Again the Committee was convinced by the evidence it received:

"In view of the great conflict of opinion on this subject, it would have been surprising if, at the outset of our enquiry, some of us had not thought that the reintroduction of judicial corporal punishment might be justified. . . . That was, in fact, the case, but, having studied the views expressed to us and the available evidence, we consider that the findings of the Cadogan Committee are still valid, and have come unanimously to the conclusion that corporal punishment should not be reintroduced as a judicial penalty in respect of any categories of offences or offenders."

The Committee thus again shows that despite emotional feelings and understandable reactions to violent crime, calm examination provides no evidence of the value of violent retaliation. The Committee felt that better use should be made of the existing services for the treatment of offenders,

In the Welsh valleys you can still find parents who are proud—stubbornly proud—that their sons should go straight from school to spend their lives down the mines like their fathers and grandfathers.

There is miserable hardship too. If old Macgrouse cared to come down off the Moors to Ebbw Vale he would see a prefab estate outside Tredegar on which it is a disgrace to be sentenced to live, and where washing lines reveal clothes unfit to wear and sheets years past repair.

And what about the Bomb? Will the debate not subside, the issue pale after these whirlwind weeks? Unfortunately we all know the answer.

We shall never change the face of the nation through the contemporary political circus; the most we can hope to do is give it a wash. The real task needs sus-

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This fact gives radical politics a more desperate sense of urgency than it has ever had. It is in combining this sense of the imperative with a quality of change that is truly educational that the forging of a new politics starts.

What went wrong at Ebbw Vale? Nothing—not even the system. I hope that Michael Foot, as he sets out today to Westminster, will remember that the system will always give him enough rope to hang himself. But it will never give the people of Ebbw Vale his sense of purpose.

by Frank Dawtry

with those proposed in the new Criminal Justice Bill now before Parliament; it also felt that a return to corporal punishment would be putting the clock back and damaging to the country's reputation abroad.

Sir Thomas Moore, arguing on the BBC, suggested that once again all the sympathy was with the criminals and none with the victims; he should have been referred to the statistical analysis of the Cadogan Report, brought up to date in this Report, which reveals that offenders who were treated by flogging or birching were more likely to be reconvicted than those who had been dealt with by other methods.

There are many tables in the Report but they almost all lead to the same conclusion, that corporal punishment was *less* effective than other methods, whether with first offenders or hardened offenders, with young or with old, but that if anything it was more particularly ineffective with young offenders, about whom the current outcry is most strong.

The Report is a sane restatement of the modern approach to crime, and it is to be hoped that it will provide adequate support for Mr. Butler in his constant battle with the diehards of his own Party.



WITH reference to the correspondence on Communists and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in *Peace News* recently may I add the following.

Whilst on the final stage of the Edinburgh to London march I saw a man selling CND badges together with those of the British Peace Committee, a Communist front organisation. On suggesting to him that he should tell his customers that the "Dove of Peace" badges were not CND he became very sullen and hostile.

In at least one Youth CND group the Communist secretary had to be deposed by a special group meeting after he had sent out circulars of the Communist Party with the official YCND mailing. He indicated that he would accept the group's decision (when he had no choice) but failed to see that any loss of personal integrity was involved; neither should he if he accepts a philosophy which puts the supremacy of the Party above such bourgeois concepts as personal integrity.

No doubt this comrade was clumsy in provoking opposition before he and his colleagues were able to control it, but other—perhaps more subtle—groups and individuals are busy trying to get the CND's emphasis on opposition only to US weapons and bases, while ignoring and evading the Soviet Union's part in the "balance of terror."

Those people in CND who are aware of these tactics will no doubt be charged with McCarthyism and divisiveness, but this should not stop them from challenging these manoeuvres by organised political groupings within the Campaign.—**DAVID LANE, 31 Manville Road, London, S.W.17.**

### Decoration of war memorials

I SUGGEST that the Cenotaph and every war memorial in Britain should be decorated with the following placard: ICHABOD. The glory has departed.

We are rearming the men who killed the fallen.—**JOHN B. WITCHELL, 3249, Villeroi St., Quebec 10, P.Q., Canada.**

### Soviet imperialism

REFERRING to my last Letter from America (PN Oct. 8), Pat Sloane of the British Soviet Friendship Society writes (PN Nov. 11), "He too falls for this cold war attitude or how could he suggest some 'ulterior motive' in Soviet anti-imperialism."

First I never used or would use the term "Soviet anti-imperialism," because it is completely misleading. While the Soviet Union opposes the US and British variety

Aside from this specific point, I maintain that to criticise the evils of the Soviet camp along with those of the US camp in the present world power struggle does *not* constitute a "cold war attitude"—particularly when the aim of such criticism is to prevent the cold war from erupting into a hot one.—**JIM PECK, Room 825, 5 Beekman St., New York 38, N.Y., U.S.A.**

### Coast to coast march

THE Sheffield Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament are organising a "Coast to Coast" march this Christmas from Liverpool to Hull. The march will start on Christmas Day from Liverpool and end at Hull on New Year's Day, passing through Warrington, Manchester, Huddersfield, Barnsley, Doncaster, Goole, Hessle and Hull.

We feel that the CND must not be tempted to rest on its Scarborough laurels. All our efforts are needed in the next four years if we are going to capitalise on our first big victory. Anyone who can march any part of the distance will be welcome and should write to me for details.—**J. A. HARRISON, 130 Ecclesfield Rd., Chapel-town, Nr. Sheffield, Yorks.**

### Africa and PN

AS secretary of the Pan-African National Council I am very pleased with the news that has been appearing in *Peace News*. Though small, your paper is doing a tremendous amount of work to further human progress.

It is a paper which carries the most important of daily events which deserve our attention. Your news reveals all the human tendencies which the imperial Western propaganda machine fails to put to the public.

I subscribe to PN and shall continue to do so with all due respect. Your recent articles on South Africa (PN Sept. 23) deserve very special attention indeed. My thanks go to you for helping to expose the South African slave racket, but I should be grateful for more official documents and any further proofs to enable us to forward them to the respective African governments, and to make people think more on the South African situation by submitting such documents to UNO.

I will endeavour to sell about 14 *PEACE News* each week.—**S. W. ARMAH, 112 Portnall Rd., London, W.9.**

## Letters to the Editor

Union C—15,000 members—rejects motion by majority.

Union D—1,000,000 members—rejects motion by majority.

Actually then, by Parliamentary voting, the motion would have been lost 3—1. By union voting, won by 76,000 votes. And we do know, don't we, that the vast majority of trade unionists don't vote anyhow, which makes the final vote more unreal than ever, while the MP at least is elected by votes actually cast for him.

To clinch the argument I return to Burke the MP is a representative voting as he—the MP is a representative voting as he thinks (more or less) while the TU man is a delegate—voting as he is told whatever new **TODD, Quiet His, Niton, Isle of Wight.**

*This letter will be referred to next week*

### Militarism in schools

I WONDER how many people realise, now conscription is almost over, that the military are throwing all their drive into the schools!

Cadets are being boosted more than ever. The use of redundant equipment such as machine guns, walkie talkie, etc., obviously attracts mechanically-minded boys who are "cradle-snatched" at 14 (or below if unofficial) and unwittingly indoctrinated with "fear discipline" to ensure a supply of people in the future conditioned for war should fear of the "ultimate deterrent" ever succeed in bringing peace.

It seems incredible to me that a civilised community can be so inconsistent as to forbid any deliberate political teaching to its young, yet permit the encouragement of the most primitive passions. What hope is there for the world?

In a scientific age we take "cause and effect" for granted, so preparing for war we are certain to get it.

Cannot thinking people, parents and teachers get together and protest against the indoctrination of the young by such unscrupulous methods?—**S. P. V. BRAY, (Science master), 221 Vicarage Rd., King's Heath, Birmingham 14.**

### Sane's problems

THERE are internal political problems within the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear policy but they are not as "simple" as Christopher Farley suggests in

to learn that Dr. Jack has been appointed national executive director of SANE.

I wrote that SANE'S problems were "more simple" than the CND's in Britain. As is well known in the USA, Norman Cousins, co-chairman of SANE, earlier this year suspended a man from any office in SANE for his refusal to state that he was not a Communist. He further indicated to Senator Dodd that he would welcome information from the files of the vice-chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security about people holding office in SANE.

Because it is essential for radical movements to have an intelligent attitude both to Communism and to McCarthyite pressure and investigations, I hope Norman Cousins' attitude was panic and nothing worse.

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### DECORATING, BRICKWORK AND POINTING

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First I never used or would use the term "Soviet anti-imperialism," because it is completely misleading. While the Soviet Union opposes the US and British variety of imperialism, such as used to prevail in Cuba, it enthusiastically promotes its own brand, which dominates the Eastern European countries.

It is this Soviet-type imperialism which Russia now tries to foist upon Cuba and to which Castro has unfortunately become a dupe. This is the "ulterior motive" when the Soviet talks about "freedom" for the victims of colonialism. True, there is more economic security under Soviet imperialism than under the Western variety, but there is no freedom, civil liberties, self-determination, etc.

important of daily events which deserve our attention. Your news reveals all the human tendencies which the imperial Western propaganda machine fails to put to the public.

I subscribe to PN and shall continue to do so with all due respect. Your recent articles on South Africa (PN Sept. 23) deserve very special attention indeed. My thanks go to you for helping to expose the South African slave racket, but I should be grateful for more official documents and any further proofs to enable us to forward them to the respective African governments, and to make people think more on the South African situation by submitting such documents to UNO.

I will endeavour to sell about 14 *PEACE NEWS* each week.—**S. W. ARMAH**, 112 Portnall Rd., London, W.9.

A number of affidavits have been forwarded to the United Nations.—Ed. PN.

## Trade union block vote

I AM sorry to have to labour my point (PN Oct. 28), but I still feel that it is vital, and that we are all in danger of thinking that, through the Scarborough decision, we have achieved something. May I put it arithmetically:

Union A—2,000,000 members—carries motion by majority.

Union B—9,000 members—rejects motion by majority.

most important of daily events which deserve our attention. Your news reveals all the human tendencies which the imperial Western propaganda machine fails to put to the public.

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We are, as any American Peace organisation growing successfully, being attacked from the Right and apparently infiltrated from the far Left. Our National Board has not "panicked" and we today have a bigger staff, a bigger budget, and more sustained activity by our local branches than at any time in our three-year history.—

**HOMER A. JACK**, Exec. Director, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, 17 East 45th St., Room 401, New York 17, New York.

Christopher Farley writes: I am pleased

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## DECORATING, BRICKWORK AND POINTING

Write: Ian Dixon, 31 Maville Rd., London, S.W.17.

The National Council of the Peace Pledge Union has set up a special Committee to plan a

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in May or June, 1961, to publicise the existence of a pacifist movement consisting of men and women who have renounced war under any and every circumstance. The Committee will need the assistance for six months of AN ORGANISER prepared to spend a considerable amount of time in visiting areas and groups. Adequate salary by arrangement. Applications should be sent as soon as possible to the General Secretary, Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. (Telephone EUS 5501).

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# INDIAN SOUTH AFRICANS' WOES

By A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

"No one doubted that the lasting solution of the Indian question was total repatriation, but the question was how that was to be achieved."—Dr. T. E. Donges, Minister of Finance, addressing the Nationalist Party Congress, Bloemfontein in 1950.

"A person whose forebears came from India but whose first loyalty is to South Africa is a South African, and taking a wider view, an African."—Joseph Nkatlo, Cape Vice-Chairman, Liberal Party of South Africa.

INDIAN indentured labourers were brought to Natal at the request of the White sugar planters in 1860, some 30 years after the first White settlement in Natal. The Indians were promised political rights and freedom to stay on in Natal when they had completed their contracts. Since then they have become fully integrated in the South African economy.

In 1895 the Natal Parliament, with the consent of Westminster, deprived the Indians of the parliamentary vote; and in 1924 they were deprived of the municipal franchise in Natal. Since then there has been a steady diminution of the rights of Indian South Africans, so that today they almost constitute a class of dispossessed having no right to

- move freely from province to province;
- own land outside scheduled areas;
- have a say in central, provincial or local governments;
- job reservation;
- social or residential security;
- attend the "open" universities; and
- they are the heaviest sufferers under the Group Areas Act (1950).

It is the last of these clauses which is regarded as the culmination of discriminatory legislation and should be viewed in light of the fact that 95 per cent of Indian

The aim of the Group Areas Act is so to impoverish and persecute Indian South Africans that they will accept repatriation to escape from hellish conditions in their homeland. This is in spite of their being a valuable factor in the South African economy, and the foundation of the prosperity of the Whites in Natal, where without them the sugar industry, worth millions of pounds a year, would never have been built.

## Brutality over Indians

The following illustrates the persecution which Indian South Africans suffer under the Group Areas Act:

An Indian in a country town hires a shop and a few small rooms at the rear. Many years ago he bought a house next door, but as his family was small and the White tenants were good he did not bother to change.

Now these tenants have moved to another town, giving him a letter that they have no objection to him occupying the premises. He obtained signatures from other Whites in the immediate neighbourhood, who also have no objection.

His application was supported by his doctor, the health inspector and finally by the Town Council itself.

This man's father has been in the town since 1910 and he himself was born there. In spite of all this he was turned down.

His subsequent appeal was supported by the Mayor of the town but even then it was refused. The house is still empty because the applicant hopes and hopes.

*No reasons are given. But who knows if some White busybody who has the vote has not secretly sent an objection to the Group Areas Board?*

Multiply this incident by tens of thousands and one will begin to appreciate the extent of racial persecution as it affects Indian South Africans.

## Forced repatriation

Short of actual forced repatriation, Indian South Africans are living in the shadow of the greatest denial of rights, the

# What we must do to secure Algerian peace

By Anthony Wedgwood Benn, MP

*[The Member for Bristol South-East cries for a halt to the six-year Algerian war which is tending to increase world tension. He accuses the British Government for their complacency on the issue as much as he does the French Government for their failure to seek an amicable settlement. He fears that the crisis is assuming such an alarming proportion that it might lead to a world war. The following is from his speech in the House of Commons on November 4 on a motion on Algeria.]*

THE six-year-old Algerian crisis has assumed such dangerous proportions that an immediate halt is called for.

According to French sources, 180,000 people have been killed in the war. Other estimates make the figure even higher. One and a quarter million Algerian civilians have been moved from their homes by the French forces and put in regroupment camps, and half a million have been forced out of Algeria into Tunisia and Morocco. According to the *Economist* the war is costing £1,000,000 a day, and 600,000 French troops have been released from commitments in Europe by the NATO Council.

## Threat to world peace

The Algerian war, which is a threat to world peace, began in November, 1954, when an uprising took place. Ever since there has been developing consistently an organised military opposition to the French Government's policy. In 1956 the National Liberation Front (FLN) and in 1958 the Algerian Government-in-exile were formed which were recognised by 19 countries.

The policy of attempting military repression in Algeria led in February, 1958, to the tragic Sakiet incident when French aircraft—as a matter of fact, they were American aircraft flown by French pilots—flew across the frontiers of Algeria and Tunisia and bombed the village of Sakiet Sidi-Ben-Yussef, causing great casualties in the refugee camps. So seriously did the British Government take the situation that they, at the instigation of the United Nations, set up the Beeley-Murphy Commission which later went out to study the situation and make recommendations.

It was upon the Beeley-Murphy recommendations that the Gaillard Government fell, leading to the collapse of the French

giving full support to the Algerian demand for self-determination.

On every one of those occasions the British Government, to the ultimate disgrace of this country's reputation for liberty, voted in the first instance against even inscribing the resolutions and subsequently against the resolutions themselves.

In 1957 the present Prime Minister and M. Gaillard met and issued a memorandum saying that the responsibility for a solution of the Algerian question lay with France, and in a spirit of solidarity between the two countries they expressed their conviction that France must continue to assume her special responsibilities in North Africa. Finally, in 1958, we had the story of the British representative voting against the resolution which recognised the right of independence for Algeria.

## Britain in the dock

It is not only Britain that stands in the dock on this question, there is also the United States, which has, owing to its greater wealth and power, not only given outright support to the French in Algeria, but far more substantial military support.

In the last ten years France had received from the United States \$1,200,000 worth of military aid per day, most of which was spent on the wars in Indo-China and Algeria. That included planes used in the Sakiet raid.

Consequently, the Algerians have been trying to find out what allies they could have. First, they got support in the Arab League and now are looking East for help and find that it will be forthcoming.

Until the Summit, the Russians always adopted a very strict attitude of protocol towards the Algerian war. In March Mr. Khrushchev made a speech in France, on his visit to de Gaulle, which was interpreted as being rather hostile to the Algerian cause. But the Chinese have



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- they are the heaviest sufferers under the Group Areas Act (1950).

It is the last of these clauses which is regarded as the culmination of discriminatory legislation and should be viewed in light of the fact that 95 per cent of Indian South Africans were born in the Union who regard it as their home and desire to contribute fully to its wellbeing.

In Durban the Group Areas Act threatens to deprive 70,000 people of their homes and business. In the Transvaal the Act will ruin the Indian community by depriving it of its trading rights. In both provinces Indians will be moved from areas they have occupied for more than half a century to remote and desolate "locations" (see Alan Paton's booklet, *THE PEOPLE WEPT*, published by the Liberal Party of South Africa).

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Multiply this incident by tens of thousands and one will begin to appreciate the extent of racial persecution as it affects Indian South Africans.

### Forced repatriation

Short of actual forced repatriation, Indian South Africans are living in the shadow of the greatest denial of rights, the right to be regarded citizens of the land of their birth, treated as outcasts and pariahs.

They have responded to this situation in a logical way. Instead of directing their appeals overseas as they did shortly after the Second War, they are turning their eyes to Africa, seeking their salvation together with other persecuted people in the Union.

The South African Indian Congress, while remaining an exclusive organisation, worked closely with the African National Congress. Many South African Indians are supporters of the now-banned Pan-African Congress, just as in Nyasaland many Indians support or belong to the Malawi Congress Party. Many Indian South Africans belong to the non-racial Liberal Party, thus identifying themselves with other men and women of all "races" who believe in a common South African patriotism based on non-racial democracy.

In spite of their legislated position in society, Indian South Africans look forward to the day when race will cease to be a factor and when they will be able to contribute to the country as *South Africans*, group exclusiveness forgotten.

### Conclusion

It should be remembered that the majority of Indian South Africans are desperately poor; many are unemployed (mainly on account of racial job reservation in favour of Whites), and those who have built for themselves a decent living are threatened with ruin on account of the Group Areas Act!

But the day is not far distant when Indian South Africans will be able to take their rightful place in society as South Africans and taking the wider view as Africans.

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It was upon the Beeley-Murphy recommendations that the Gaillard Government fell, leading to the collapse of the French Republic. Since then, and since President de Gaulle has been in power in France, the situation has not really changed very substantially.

### de Gaulle a prisoner

Even though President de Gaulle was given the mandate of the whole French nation he has been proved time and again to be the prisoner of the situation which reigns in his own country. No greater evidence of this could be found than the following four episodes in his Algerian policy.

1. While he takes over, the hooters in the *Champs Elysees* sound out their victory sign "*Algerie Francaise*."

2. On September 16, 1959, he makes his great speech calling for self-determination in Algeria, and when the FLN asks for talks and nominates its spokesmen, he turns that down.

3. Then he faces the Algerian rising last February by Lagaillard and Ortiz, and the whole of French policy goes into the wind resulting in breakdown of peace negotiations.

4. In June or July there are the talks at Melun which raise new hopes again, but the formation of Soustelle and Salan groups once again proves that there is a total paralysis on the issue which makes it quite impossible for the French to solve the problem.

From the outset the Arab League has given its support to the Algerian fighters. In 1955 at the Bandung Conference there was support for the Algerian freedom fighters. At the United Nations in 1957, 1958 and 1959 resolutions were brought forward by the Afro-Asians and others

In the last ten years France had received from the United States \$1,200,000 worth of military aid per day, most of which was spent on the wars in Indo-China and Algeria. That included planes used in the Sakiet raid.

Consequently, the Algerians have been trying to find out what allies they could have. First, they got support in the Arab League and now are looking East for help and find that it will be forthcoming.

Until the Summit, the Russians always adopted a very strict attitude of protocol towards the Algerian war. In March Mr. Khrushchev made a speech in France, on his visit to de Gaulle, which was interpreted as being rather hostile to the Algerian cause. But the Chinese have offered a technical mission, material, arms and men. Since the breakdown of Summit talks the Russian attitude has altered completely.

It is now high time that the British Government woke up from their complacent attitude, if not actual hostility, to the Algerian cause. Having discussed this matter with many people in the diplomatic service and abroad I am perfectly convinced that our Government have never taken this problem seriously.

It is now time that we should recognise the Algerian right to freedom, recognise that it is a threat to peace and a problem which can be settled only by international action and that France cannot solve it and that only the United Nations can.

There are four things which our Government should do in the next few months :

1. Give full support to the inscribing of this resolution upon the agenda of the UN.

2. Vote for it when it comes up for debate.

3. Use our vote on the Security Council to support this resolution, which will have the two-thirds majority and then raise at the NATO.

4. Back up the UN action by cutting off supplies of arms which the French are using in Algeria in order to enforce their will.

**"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"**

*This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters*

**DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE**  
6 Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1



# DIRECT ACTION AGAINST POLARIS

PEACE NEWS, November 18, 1960—7

## ■ FROM PAGE ONE

THE Navy and Electric Boat had mustered the following craft to oppose us: the Navy tug and an EB tug, a fireboat, a Coast Guard launch, an outboard with a frogman, and a large skiff. The submarines were not blocked off. On the deck of each ship were 100 or more sailors and EB workers, armed with poles, oars and ropes. Crowds including many Navy officers, EB officials, guards and photographers stood on the docks. Dozens of workmen watched from the shipyard buildings. While the Navy tug harassed the photographers in the *Thoreau* we regrouped and planned our action.

The *Ahimsa* and the *World Citizen* were to take on the *George Washington*, the skiff carrying Joe Glynn, Bill Henry and Ed Leites selected the *Patrick Henry*. Dick Zink announced a plan to climb on the *Washington's* stabilising fin. Seeing us start for the submarines, the tug abandoned the *Thoreau* and drove to intercept us. All craft moved in.

Without any hesitation, the *Ahimsa* glided to the fin and Dick Zink hoisted himself to its top. A cheer went up from the sailors and others on the *Washington's* deck. Our first objective was reached.

Joe rowed the skiff swiftly to the *Patrick Henry*. Bill Henry and Ed Leites leaped on to its submerged fantail and advanced toward its superstructure. Another cheer! The second sub. was boarded!

Here is Ed's report of the action that ensued on the *Patrick Henry*:

"When Bill and I got on the *Patrick Henry*, I began to talk with the men on its deck. The sailors assigned to shove us off listened for a minute or more. They seemed to be thinking, 'Should I be doing this or not?' Then the officers on shore began to shout orders and egg the men on. The sailors' spirit hardened. Wielding heavy sticks and pushing with their bodies, they forced us into the water. We would struggle back and they would push us off again. Sailors in a Navy skiff, dispatched to deal with Dick Zink on the *Washington*, struck us with their oars as they passed.

"Our struggle with the violence of the

Ed told me that his intention on boarding the *Patrick Henry* was to walk to a missile hatch and sit on it in protest.

Meanwhile, attention had turned to Dick Zink, who had been sitting for 10 minutes on the *Washington's* fin. Here is his report:

"As we neared the sub's tail, an EB security guard shouted at us from a nearby tugboat, 'You're being foolish.' I replied, 'You're the one who's foolish. You're going to blow up the world!' Reaching the tail fin, I got my hands over the top edge, quickly pulled myself on top, sat down.

Shortly, three sailors and a frogman who had been harassing Bill and Ed came over in their boat. The eyes of all were filled with hatred and they began hitting me on my legs and body with oars. I hung down the side of the fin. Luckily, their boat drifted away and I managed to crawl on top again. This intensified their fury. They returned, swinging their oars like baseball bats, striking me on the neck and side. I almost blacked out, but held on. I finally fell off as one sailor pulled a leg and the fireboat struck me with a jet of water.

"Surfacing, holding my neck where an oar had struck me, I caught the sailors' eyes, waited to see what they'd do. They left me alone and I swam out into the cove."

After knocking Dick off the fin, the fireboat deployed its hose against all our boats, almost swamping the *Thoreau* and its photographers. Realising that we had succeeded in boarding the subs, all boats and demonstrators withdrew. Ed climbed into the *World Citizen*, Bill Henry and Dick Zink into the other rowboats.

BUT our return to New London was blocked by the EB tug. Standing in its prow, the Chief of EB Security shouted orders to round us up, confiscate the cameras which he knew carried a complete record of the violence. He waved his arm at Ray and yelled, "I'm going to have that camera!"



Chief of Security at Electric Boat securing Thor Taegre and Julius Jacobs as they trespass on Electric Boat drydock in protest against Polaris subs. To the right, guards carry away a demonstrator. (Background) Polaris sub/George Washington's propeller.

Bill, Dick and Ed were purple, shivering from cold. I realised that both EB and Navy security forces were demoralised, no longer able to cope with us rationally and responsibly. It seemed wisest to co-operate with the security chief's command to take us all into custody.

Our boats were tethered behind a tug. We were taken to a dock and ordered to climb on to the stern of another tug. There we were photographed and FBI and EB security agents questioned us, demanding our cameras and film.

Sailors and workmen had gathered about. Ed, Julius and I began to explain our actions to them. Several who confessed to be Christians became silent and thoughtful when we spoke of the inhumanity of Polaris missiles. Two security officers began to defend their actions. The FBI agents were angered again when we called their behaviour immoral.

Finally, satisfied that they had taken all our photographic equipment, the security agents took us back to the New London dock and released us. They said our property would be returned, except for censored film. They would give no receipts for the boats which had been towed away out of sight. We returned to the CNVA office to discuss our experiences.

another way. FBI and EB security agents had overlooked a roll of 16 mm film! We drove immediately to New York where the *New York Times* and CBS developed it. There were long sequences of Dick on the *Washington's* fin and Bill and Ed boarding the *Patrick Henry*. Included, too, were fine shots of the Navy tug and subs. Fox Movietone finally purchased the film and on Friday began international distribution of it.

The *New York Times* carried a front page objective story in several Friday editions. There was an editorial in *The Wall Street Journal*. A page five story and later an editorial appeared in the *New York Post*.

Thus again was demonstrated the power of non-violent action. We succeeded in protest boardings of the most destructive machines ever created. Carefully trained FBI and EB security agents were demoralised by open, friendly and determined action. Hundreds of sailors and workers in Groton were deeply reached by our messages of non-violence, millions across the nation. Is it any wonder that I believe a thousand men ready for non-violent action against military policies could end the horror of war and mobilise the masses for non-violent resistance to every form of tyranny?

THE demonstration received

STARVING BEDOINS



"When Bill and I got on the *Patrick Henry*, I began to talk with the men on its deck. The sailors assigned to shove us off listened for a minute or more. They seemed to be thinking, 'Should I be doing this or not?' Then the officers on shore began to shout orders and egg the men on. The sailors' spirit hardened. Wielding heavy sticks and pushing with their bodies, they forced us into the water. We would struggle back and they would push us off again. Sailors in a Navy skiff, dispatched to deal with Dick Zink on the *Washington*, struck us with their oars as they passed.

"Our struggle with the violence of the *Patrick Henry's* crew went on before a dock filled with sailors, workers and photographers. We were gradually forced farther down the stern and eventually were standing on the sub's submerged propellor. Our assailants then could not reach us without swimming and called for the fireboat to spray us away from the sub. Shortly after, the *World Citizen* came up. I climbed in, Bill Henry grabbed its stern and we withdrew into the cove."

boats, almost swamping the *Thoreau* and its photographers. Realising that we had succeeded in boarding the subs, all boats and demonstrators withdrew. Ed climbed into the *World Citizen*, Bill Henry and Dick Zink into the other rowboats.

★

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The man was desperate. A sailor was dispatched to rig a grappling hook. The tug rammed the *Thoreau*. The Security Chief sprang on Neil Haworth's back and wrestled with Ray for the camera. Securing it, he passed it back to the tug and stood up in the *Thoreau*, his coat splotted with blood from a gashed finger. The hook was rigged and the *Thoreau* secured.

The heavy tugs threatened momentarily to ram or crush our half swamped boats.

Polaris missiles. Two security officers began to defend their actions. The FBI agents were angered again when we called their behaviour immoral.

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★

**T**HE demonstration received enormous publicity. A Hartford radio station immediately made a 10-minute taped interview with me. The *Hartford Courant* and *Providence Journal* took long stories. Acting on Saul Gottlieb's hunch, we 'phoned the *New York Times*. A reporter, who at first sounded bored, woke up when he learned the details of the demonstration. The *New York Times'* Norwich agent 'phoned to verify facts of our story.

And the Lord must have been with us in

protest boardings of the most destructive machines ever created. Carefully trained FBI and EB security agents were demoralised by open, friendly and determined action. Hundreds of sailors and workers in Groton were deeply reached by our messages of non-violence, millions across the nation. Is it any wonder that I believe a thousand men ready for non-violent action against military policies could end the horror of war and mobilise the masses for non-violent resistance to every form of tyranny?

## STARVING BEDOUINS

From Rt. Hon. Clement Davies, M.P., and others.

Sir,—May we appeal to your readers for help for the Bedouin Arabs, a total of 85,000, many thousands of whom are starving in the Jordan desert?

Three years' successive drought has completely destroyed all crops, and all grazing lands are barren, with the result that their herds of camels, sheep and goats are dead and they are left without means of survival. Thousands are starving; some have actually starved to death.

War on Want has opened a special fund for their aid and undertakes that every penny contributed to this fund will go direct to provide help for them, nothing whatever being deducted for expenses.

Contributions will be most gratefully accepted and should be sent to the Rt. Hon. James Griffiths, M.P., Hon. Treasurer, War on Want, 9 Madeley Road, London, W.5.

Please mark cheques and postal orders "Bedouin Arab Appeal" or enclose a slip of paper with any money sent "For Bedouin Arab Fund".

Yours faithfully,  
CLEMENT DAVIES  
JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON  
ARTHUR HENDERSON

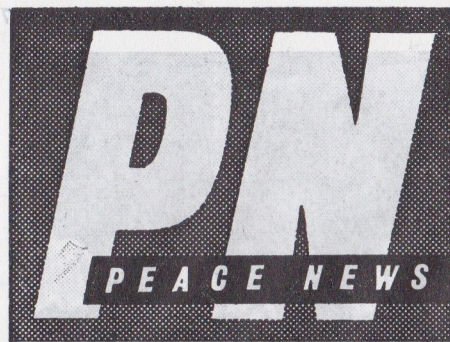
London, W.5.

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*Daily Telegraph*.



Ed Leites and Bill Henry boarding *Polaris* sub *Patrick Henry* during October 20 demonstrations. To the right, sailors with ropes and poles on the sub's afterdeck. In the background, officers, sailors and workmen standing on the Electric Boat Corporation dock.





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## Dr. Uphaus in jail for 70th birthday

ON November 27 Dr. Willard Uphaus, veteran US Christian pacifist, of New haven, Connecticut, will spend his seventieth birthday in Merrimack County Jail in Boscawen, New Hampshire.

On December 14 he will have completed 12 months imprisonment for contempt of court for his refusal, on grounds of conscience, to disclose to the US attorney general of that state the names of some 600 guests at the World Fellowship of Faiths conference centre in Conway for the years 1954-55. Dr. Uphaus is director of that organisation.

As far as is known he is the only religious leader in the history of the USA who has spent even as much as a day in jail for refusing to name his associates.

Dr. Uphaus, in his refusal in court, invoked the Biblical injunction against bearing false witness, holding that he would be doing so if he disclosed the names of law-abiding Americans to the State for use in the context of subversion.

His jailing last December 14, after a five-year court battle, has brought about a nation and world-wide protest among religious organisations and leaders.

## Briefly

Twenty pounds was raised for the Peace News Fund as a result of a recent Surrey Area Peace Pledge Union annual social and £25 for the PPU.

Humphrey Lyttelton and his band will play at a CND Christmas Dance at St. Pancras Town Hall on December 23.

# 14 TO REFUSE TAXES FOR NUCLEAR WAR

Peace News Reporter

## FOURTEEN PEOPLE ANNOUNCED THEIR INTENTION THIS WEEK OF REFUSING TO PAY TAXES FOR NUCLEAR WAR IN SUPPORT OF A CAMPAIGN ORGAN- ISED BY THE COMMITTEE AGAINST TAX FOR NUCLEAR ARMS.

Six signatories to a declaration being currently circulated include John Berger, Pamela Frankau, Alex Jacobs, Alan Lovell, George Melly and Arnold Wesker. The declaration states:

"We can no longer, in good conscience, pay without protest that proportion of our tax which must be spent on the making of nuclear weapons."

Commenting on the meaninglessness of "defence" in the nuclear age the signatories say:

"We are no longer willing to help prepare for the destruction of the human race. . . Tax refusal has an honourable place in the history of the struggle for human rights and liberties. We feel that we have no course left open to us. We believe that in adopting this method we are serving the traditions of democracy."

Some of the new signatories have also

refused to pay their Civil Defence rate (PN Nov. 11 and Oct. 28). One such person, Mr. Roger Holman, Christian pacifist and member of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Tunbridge Wells, spotlighted the campaign when he announced under front page headlines in his local paper that the British Government's decision to allow American missile-carrying submarines to use Holy Loch as a base was "the last straw."

Mr. Holman has told the Inland Revenue that next January 1 when his half yearly tax is due he will withhold about £30, which he will send to the UN "Freedom from Hunger campaign."

Solidly supported by his wife and two children in his stand, Mr. Holman told the local press:

"The Government will have its pound of flesh whatever I do, but I feel the moral protest is worthwhile."

Mr. Holman was later interviewed by ITV News.

## Deputation to Treasury

On Friday, December 30, at 11.30 a.m. a deputation will hand in the declaration and a list of signatories to the Treasury in London. The committee hopes to have a supporting poster parade.

A Trust Fund to disburse the withheld money to various charitable organisations has been set up by the Committee, which welcomes people who are prepared to protest only to the point of going to court.

To add strength to the protest 26 people have written to their local tax office asking to be transferred from PAYE to Schedule D whereby they can then refuse to pay.

## Parliament Gagged

□ FROM PAGE ONE

ported as saying that he thought 'that the Prime Minister's statement on the degree of control we are to have in return for permitting the depot ship was quite inadequate.' If the Prime Minister's explanations were 'quite inadequate' is that not a reason for a full debate in the House of Commons and indeed a vote of censure?

"In the same speech Mr. Gaitskell said that he regarded the Polaris weapon as 'more effective, less dangerous to the civil population, less likely to lead to war, more likely to preserve peace, than any other nuclear weapon hitherto available.' Now all these statements are highly controversial and doubtful and at the least debatable. How can we test the truth and validity of Mr. Gaitskell's arguments if they are not fully debated in the Commons?

"Many supporters of Mr. Gaitskell may think he is right. But only in March Mr. Gaitskell was arguing in favour of the independent nuclear deterrent. Later in the year he declared against the independent nuclear deterrent because of its 'colossal cost.' Surely Mr. Gaitskell, who is an economist of repute, should have known about the colossal cost of the independent nuclear deterrent when he was advocating it. Mr. Gaitskell is now advocating a completely different defence policy from the one he was advocating last March. It was pressure from within the Shadow Cabinet and the parliamentary party and from the Labour movement outside that made Mr. Gaitskell abandon 'the independent nuclear deterrent' at 'colossal cost' policy.

## Full and frank

"It is quite clear that from his own change Mr. Gaitskell is not infallible and needs to be enlightened from outside. In fact, it was when Mr. Gaitskell was on the road to Damascus that the Shadow Cabinet and its front bench spokesmen, Mr. Harold Wilson and Mr. George Brown, saw the light here. So is not full and frank debate in Parliament the best way open to us to persuade Mr. Gaitskell that he has again taken the wrong line?

"In the House of Commons Mr. Denis Healey described the Prime Minister's statement 'as one of the most misleading that he had ever made.' He accused the Government of 'arrogant levity.' He said the

## NEXT WEEK

### Prisoners for Peace

The names and addresses of more than 100 war resisters and rocket base demonstrators who will be in prison at Christmastime will appear in Peace News next week. Readers will be invited to send them Christmas cards.

## POLARIS NEWS IN BRIEF

Thousands are expected to join in a march through Glasgow tomorrow organised by the Scottish Council of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, march organiser Campbell Wilkie told Peace News this week. It leaves at 2.30 p.m. from Clarendon



year court battle, has brought about a nation and world-wide protest among religious organisations and leaders.

## Briefly

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The names and addresses of more than 100 war resisters and rocket base demonstrators who will be in prison at Christmastime will appear in Peace News next week. Readers will be invited to send them Christmas cards.

## POLARIS NEWS IN BRIEF

Thousands are expected to join in a march through Glasgow tomorrow organised by the Scottish Council of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, march organiser Campbell Wilkie told *Peace News* this week. It leaves at 2.30 p.m. from Claremont Street with, it is expected, two pipe bands.

Thirty CND members leafleted Dunoon and district last Saturday and found, despite press and radio reports, a surprising amount of sympathy for the unilateralist viewpoint.

The Glasgow Trades Council, the city Labour Party and the Co-operative Party are to stage a demonstration march on Sunday, December 11. They hope to secure the support of many other bodies.

The Rev. Clifford Macquire is to chair the CND Glasgow meeting in St. Andrews Halls on Tuesday, December 13, when the speakers will be Canon Collins, A. J. P. Taylor, Bob Willis, Judith Hart, MP, and Dr. George MacLeod.

In his Remembrance Day Sermon in St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, the Rev. Dr. H. C. Whitley called for an emergency meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. "We should consider whether America should have the power to control Britain's life and death," he said. He questioned whether any government was mandated to decide the possible future of a people without consulting them.

## U.S. Quakers demonstrate at War Department

GROUPS of American Quakers demonstrated against "the futility of the arms race" outside the Pentagon in Washington on Monday, the London *Daily Telegraph* reported on Nov. 15. Delegations also delivered messages at the White House and the British, French and Russian Embassies. Another group handed £5,000 to UN, raised by a voluntary "tax" on Quakers, for technical aid to Africa.

## Deputation to Treasury

On Friday, December 30, at 11.30 a.m. a deputation will hand in the declaration and a list of signatories to the Treasury in London. The committee hopes to have a supporting poster parade.

A Trust Fund to disburse the withheld money to various charitable organisations has been set up by the Committee, which welcomes people who are prepared to protest only to the point of going to court.

To add strength to the protest 26 people have written to their local tax office asking to be transferred from PAYE to Schedule D whereby they can then refuse to pay. The Committee hopes that such pressure will be a prelude to urging legislation in Parliament for conscientious objection to payment of taxes for nuclear war.

A poster parade is scheduled for tomorrow (Saturday) from 9.30 a.m. to 1 p.m. in Whitehall, London, in support of the campaign.

The address of the Committee Against Tax for Nuclear Arms is 344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4.

## U.S. tax refuser tried by Presbytery

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

ANOTHER session of the church trial of the Rev. Maurice McCrackin, veteran war tax refuser, was held by the Judicial Commission of the US Cincinnati Presbytery on November 3.

The Commission, which is conducting the trial in secret, would not disclose the date of the next hearing.

Support for the Rev. McCrackin was voiced recently by members of the Vestry-Session of his church, the West Cincinnati-Saint Barnabas Church.

In a letter to the Presbytery they affirmed the principle of freedom of conscience, saying:

"We rejoice in the witness that our pastor, the Rev. Maurice McCrackin, is making to this principle.

"We believe that the Presbytery of Cincinnati has taken a serious and grave step in establishing a judicial commission to test the validity of the Church's teaching that 'God is Lord of conscience.'"

"It is quite clear that from his own change Mr. Gaitskell is not infallible and needs to be enlightened from outside. In fact, it was when Mr. Gaitskell was on the road to Damascus that the Shadow Cabinet and its front bench spokesmen, Mr. Harold Wilson and Mr. George Brown, saw the light here. So is not full and frank debate in Parliament the best way open to us to persuade Mr. Gaitskell that he has again taken the wrong line?

"In the House of Commons Mr. Denis Healey described the Prime Minister's statement 'as one of the most misleading that he had ever made.' He accused the Government of 'arrogant levity.' He said the Opposition could not put up with 'this type of arrogant levity on matters of life and death and neither would the British people.'

"If this is so, if this is the Labour Front Bench's attitude to the Prime Minister's statement on Polaris, why does not it put down a vote of censure on the Government, or at least demand a debate and a vote on this matter 'of life and death'?

"The case for a debate and a vote on Polaris is simply unanswerable. The fact that this might embarrass Mr. Gaitskell is not so important as that the rights of MPs and the fundamental principles of democracy should be maintained."

Constructive peace-making  
Disarmament

## PEACE NEWS FORUM

to be held in the  
Midland Institute  
(Lecture Theatre)

Paradise Street Birmingham

**SATURDAY, NOV. 26th**

**3-5 pm and 6-8 pm**

Discussion leaders include:

**VERA BRITAIN  
J. ALLEN SKINNER  
CHRISTOPHER FARLEY**  
Chair: Dr. Peter Gittins

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